

Enemies abroad, Friends in the United States:
Jewish Diaspora from Alsace-Lorraine vs. Jewish Diaspora From Germany,
19th century-20th century

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The study of Diasporas is confronted with national issues. Here are two nations German and French which are on process of construction and are facing each other along the border. From a socio-historical perspective, I observe how Jewish Diasporas which are supposed to be transnational are faced with national phenomenon. What will overcome diaspora or the nation? What will be the winner, national feeling or diasporic identity?

This paper is intended as a contribution to the issue of nationalism versus diasporas¹. How can the Jewish migrations to the United States from German and Alsace-Lorraine be a way to lessen hostility between the two countries to vanish if not to eradicate it? The borderlines between the two populations seemed to disappear in the new country. Minority status, the solidarity of transplanted people, the necessity of accommodation became new issues. The gap between both cultures seemed not as great as it was in the original country.

The motherland was regarded with distance for various reasons. The priority urge for the emigrant is to survive economically, to maintain Jewish identity and afterwards to gain citizenship.

Did that mean that old feelings disappear completely?

I) Enemies abroad

1) Historical and political background:

¹ This issue is questioned extensively in *Diaspora* by Khachig Tölölyan, « Rethinking Diaspora(s) : Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment », 5, 1, 1996, pp « 3 –36 and by Dominique Schnapper, « De l'Etat-Nation au monde transnational. Du sens et de l'utilité du concept de diaspora », in REMI, 2001, (17) 2, p.9-36.

1791: Emancipation for French Jews; 1869: Civil rights for German Jews

Two approaches were envisaged : assimilation could be stipulated as a prerequisite of equality of legal status or else one could help assimilation to materialize as a consequence of equality. In Germany, the first approach was chosen. “Emancipation was seen from the outset as of a long-term process while in France legal equality was introduced right away by a one single act”. (Rürup : 24)

The Alsace –Lorraine Jewish Diaspora to the United States is by no way comparable to the one from Germany with respect to the number of emigrants, the status of Jewish population in France the organization of the Jewish administration and the relative security the French Jewish population could feel in facing antisemitism riots.

The East part of France consisted of two provinces Alsace- Lorraine which are quite essential as far as the Jewish history of France is concerned. In 1871 before the German annexation by the treaty of Francfort October 1872, the Jewish population in Alsace-Lorraine amounted to 40 000, half of the total French Jewish population. Their migration to America was far more important than migration from the rest of France in the 19th century, a French emigration which was considered “invisible” (Chandèze 1898: 295) compared to German emigration, Italian emigration and the East European one.

Alsace Lorraine population was very much bound to France and felt very much indebted to it.

A) This fervent loyalty to France had different origins

After the Revolution, French Jews obtained French citizenship even if these rights were not fully achieved until after 1827, during the Restoration with the abolition of the infamous decree (open freely a trade without taxes, no replacement when soldiers were drafted allowed, obligation to swear oaths in synagogues before pleading in Court). Quite different from German citizenship law, the French law to obtain citizenship known as *jus soli* , the law of the soil, was enforced with some modifications. The law granted French citizenship to any foreigner born on French soil². This stood in opposition to the *jus sanguinis* which provided citizenship as a result of parentage. As admission to citizenship was more ethnic and cultural and connected to the law of blood in Germany and to the fact that the states

² To understand the historical background of « jus soli » and all its nuances, Jean-François Berdah, « The French Melting-pot : Immigration and Citizenship in the nineteenth and twentieth Century (1789-1940) »

were Christian, it was more difficult for the German « lander » to give to the Jews the same rights as the Christians.

-The sense of relative security in citizenship was not only related to the legacy of Revolution but also to the power of the centralized state. The centralized system allowed departmental Consistories which protested vigorously at any case of discrimination and urged the Central Consistory to intervene with the Government authority when necessary. It was particularly the case during anti-semitic rural riots during revolutionary times in the 1830s and in 1848 in Alsace –Lorraine.

-French was also taught in numerous small Jewish schools. The influence of French was promoted in the schools according to the religiously primary education law derived from Guizot Law in 1833. But since Alsace-Lorraine was a bilingual region, German was also taught as well as Hebrew in Jewish schools. In 1860 French was usually taught and practiced in Alsatian schools and German became a very small part of teaching. The government had to fight “teutonism” which delayed assimilation to France. Finally Napoleon III compromised: French was the national language but Alsace must not forget German.

As a whole, in primary schools the conditions of teaching were very poor, and largely dependent on the contribution of parents. There were 52 schools in Alsace and many clandestine ones. Even if Jewish education was poorly provided, the attendance seemed to have been regular.. The aim of the schooling was to regenerate this population and protect them from usury, unlawful trade and extreme poverty. Consistent efforts were made by the departmental Consistory was made in the 1850’s to ask for the aid of the local town council where the Jewish school was located. As a whole “the special education enabled Jewish youth in Alsace from the time of the July Monarchy in 1848 to acquire culture in an environment that facilitated the synthesis of civic duty and French patriotism with pride” (Paula Hyman, 1991)

The majority of the population was still rural. In 1851, only 24% Jews in Alsace-Lorraine lived in capital cities. Between 1871-1905, 31% did so” (Vicki Caron, 1983).

Alsace-Lorraine annexation to Germany in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian war strengthened patriotism and even chauvinism of French Alsace-Lorraine Jews.

The result of this attitude was that that a great number of Jewish people left Alsace-Lorraine either for France or for America or Algeria. As Alsace Lorraine was allowed to make a choice (option) whether to stay or to leave to France, from 1870-1900, Jews emigrated to France and opted for French citizenship, others left for Algeria and America.

Between 1875 to 1905, one fourth of the Jewish population had left, about 9230 people (Weyl, Raphaël: 485)

The population feared they would not enjoy the same civil and political rights as their fellow citizens of other faith in Germany (Benjamin Lipman, March 13 1871, Rabbi of Nancy). They were concerned with anti-semitism and they felt reluctant to serve in the German army.

B) On the other side of the border, what was then *the status of Jews in the German Lander was more limited*

The Jewish population living in Germany was 250,000 in 1815. As in 1791, French Jews amounted to 68,000, 20,000 in Alsace, 8000 in Lorraine 40,000 in the rest of France. Four times more than in France according to Avraham Barkai.

Half of them lived in Prussia, 53,000 in Bavaria, 50, 000 in Posen.

The rights of the Jewish population varied greatly from one lander to another, the less restrictive were Southwestern ones.. In Posen, no Jew in 1813 was allowed to marry and to live permanently in any region or to pursue an economic activity without being inscribed in the so-called Matrikel, which fixed the number of settled Jews for every town and village. In Bavaria the number of the Jewish population was fixed and could not be expanded.

From 1848 to 1868 the rights of citizenship were granted to Jews and on the 3rd of July 1869 all restrictions related to religious beliefs were abolished, while excluding them from civil service and from high state positions, the Army diplomacy, foreign affairs and University if not converted. Georg Simmel, one of the most important sociologists who influenced the Chicago School of sociology had to convert to teach at Strasbourg University at the end of the 19th century. As Reinhard Rürup stated, German Jews had to follow a “tortuous and thorny path to equality” (Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook, 31, 1986).

Nevertheless, German Jewish communities maintained a subculture organized inside the community. Their elite and middle classes were more economical, cultural than political as it has been in France. (Pierre Birnbaum, 2001: 113). Local Jewish communities remained a corporate body by law and no Jew was free to leave without renouncing his or her religion. In 1876, German Jews were still obliged to pay community taxes collected by the local government. But on the other hand, they had the right to elect synagogue board and functionaries, to determine religious services and education and could be buried in Jewish cemetery (Barkai, 1993:4).

“The German Jewish society was still guided by the religious law and behavioral norm of a closed Jewish society”. Emigrating to the USA meant economic improvement and more secure future, real emancipation and secularisation.

2))Alsace Lorraine population connections to their German neighbors : ambivalent and even hostile

We have analyzed the specific identity of Alsace- Lorraine Jews and their pro-French attitude and patriotism in the 1870ies and before. Even if they had shifted from the German Empire to France then back to the German Reich in 1648, 1872 then back to France in 1918, they were very much attached to France, to Napoleon the 1st and to the idea of liberty and equality. However their bilingual culture and singular history gave them the opportunity to establish regular commercial exchanges as well as family intermarriages with Southwestern parts of Germany, Rhine Palatinate, Baden countries. Genealogy trees showed that many Alsace-Lorraine families had married their German neighbors from Speyer, Landau, Kaiserslautern, Billigheim, Ingenheim, Gemersheim, Bad-Durkheim. There was a continuous movement on the border even if commercial contacts outside the region either with the rest of France or Switzerland or Germany grew in importance only in the 1850s, 1860s (Paula Hyman 1991: 53-61). Rabbis in Alsace came from Bohemia, Moravia, and Prague.

Weddings were quite frequent with people from the Rhenish country but this trend would greatly diminish in the 1860ies because of the influence of nationalism. From 1820-1840, 16% of the partners were born in foreign countries predominantly Germany and Switzerland but they were only 4% in the 1860. (Paula Hyman, 1991:61). This nationalism became more influential after the Franco-Prussian War with memorable songs of revenge on the French side and expressions being passed in families. When a French family had a very good dinner, one member of the family would end the meal with these words: “One more meal that the Prussians won’t get”.

The nationalism was even stronger after World War I even among Jewish people.

My family was connected to a German family on the other side of the border in Ettenheim in Baden land, twenty miles from Alsace about. One French cousin came to visit his relative Levinstein whose son died during WWI on the German side. He knocked at the door. A servant opened. He just told who he was and that he wanted to visit his cousin. He was a medical doctor and fought on the French side as an officer. The servant came back saying: Mr Levinstein does

not receive French officers. That was the end of the family connection with our German cousins. They were Germans or French, before being Jewish or even cousins.

For many years, in many Jewish Alsace –Lorraine families, a silence was maintained about German relatives as the anti-German feeling was strong. It was more especially the case as Alsace-Lorraine had been under German rule between 1871-1918. Alsace Jewish families spoke French or Judeo-Alsatian at home. It was forbidden for the children to marry any German families. And many children were sent to French schools on the French side or sent to work in French families to learn French. Jewish individuals born in 1890ies were educated in German schools, knew German but when Alsace became French again, never spoke German but only Alsatian dialect and even pretended not to know any German. We know that their prayer-books were written in German and Hebrew and that they would still count in German .

3) Characteristics of German and Alsace-Lorraine emigrations : quite similar in the process, different in figures

A) Massive Jewish emigration from Germany

Even in the absence of official immigration statistics broken down by religious creeds, we have an idea of the mass immigration from Germany: 1831-1840, the population is 152,454; in 1841-1850, 434, 626; in 1851-1860, 951,667.

In the USA in 1840, Jewish population was 15,000; in 1848, 50,000 ; 1855, 100,000 (Reissner, 1965 : 69).and according to Avraham Barkai figures (1993 :9) from 1840-1870, 140 000 German Jews left Germany for the United States. The main emigration was from Bavaria and south West Germany. As a whole from 1830 to 1914, 200 000 Jewish emigrants were coming from the German Reich.

M.H.G. Reissner (1965,:70) as well as Marcus Lee Hansen (1940:140) in the years after the 1830s Jewish emigration (from Germany) was caused not so much by persecution as by the prevailing depression which weighed upon Jews and Gentiles alike.” Only where anti-Jewish discrimination was coupled with a general economic depression such as in South Germany or when the local law barred the free exercise or individual Jewish initiative as in the Prussian province of Posen did the emigration now attract anonymous Jewish masses.”(Reissner, 1965: 70). Land fragmentation, the decline of handicrafts and the movement to a money economy public were some of the reasons for leaving” (Reissner: 69) but the depression was more acute in southern and southwestern Germany.

And we observe the same phenomena as for the Alsace-Lorraine group, “Jewish emigration was mainly a movement of young unmarried and poor people” especially for the first wave of emigration.

The second emigration was composed with middle classes who left for economical as well as political and cultural reasons. For instance in Eastern Pa. most have gone through primary schools and knew how to read and write, a minority have received some training in crafts and there were few professionals among them (Reissner 65, :72) the majority was peddlers, or merchants, a substantial number were lower middle-class petit bourgeois shopkeepers merchants.(Marcus, 1970: 112).

But unlike French Alsace-Lorraine, emigration was a substitute for emancipation, equality at least before the law, freedom of movement, settlement and economic enterprise .

B) Main Jewish Alsace- Lorraine influx of migration was in the 1850ies-1860ies

The Jewish Alsace –Lorraine started as early as 1820 just like German immigration emigration. We have analyzed two waves of emigration, one more economical 1820-160, the other one more cultural and political, 1872-1918. (Bloch-Raymond, 1995, 110-122):

A few figures could help to evaluate this migration:

Even though it started earlier, the main Jewish trend of migration to the United States occurred between 1855-1870. It amounts between 10 to 12% of the total population emigrated from Alsace –Lorraine according to census data. In 1866 out of 58 970 inhabitants of the lower Rhine 23 116 left the department and 4,144 immigrated to America.

-This first wave of migration was due to overpopulation, an increase of taxes, agricultural crisis, and famine as later on a textile industry crisis. Most of them wanted to get away from an uncertain future, famine, and epidemic. It is difficult to know precisely how many Jewish people left because the statistics are fragmented and incomplete.

From emigration statistics and onomastic techniques, we know that between 1828-1837, 71 out of 615 migrants were Jewish out of 15 towns of Bas-Rhin. From 1857-1869, 97 out of 764 French emigrants 12, 6% were Jewish. Again the Jewish migration is mainly young. It comprised a few craftsmen, the majority of them, traders, butchers, peddlers, leatherskin sellers and only a small number professional: printer, photographer, painters. Not even 10% are women. Very few were cultivators or landworkers. A few have no jobs. It is mainly a rural emigration especially from Northern Alsace and of Lorraine, the poorest lands.

-The second wave from 1871 to 1918

Between 1871 to 1910, 10455 Jewish people left for France, the United States or South America. We can estimate that about 5000 people left for the United States. This was more a political and a cultural migration. Jewish people already had some training and some of them had a prominent position in the rural economy but their opportunity have been narrowed. (Vicki Caron) and they left the war scene and the Prussian militarism (Freddy Wahl).

The list of young people who gave up Alsatian citizenship in order not to be drafted in the German army and who left for the USA in the region of Mulhouse between 1874-1897: out of 118 young Jewish persons out of 1100. More than 80% went to New York and Chicago, Buffalo and Cincinnati . Only 10% went to the South: Louisiana and Texas.

C) German and Alsace-Lorraine migration : the same pattern of migration

From the same place at the same time, the German influx amounts to 16 686 Germans leaving for the USA. The figures are not comparable. But what is sure is that the two migrations followed the same process.

German and French emigrants found themselves on the same type of boats, their travelling agents were the same (72 travelling agents spread over the small towns of Switzerland, Germany and Alsace) and they made the same trip from Le Havre. It is particularly true for the German migration coming from Bade and the Rhine Palatinate countries And American historians even often blend the Alsace–Lorraine population with the German-Jew population. (Reissner 1965:61, Avraham Barkai, 1993)

German emigration which was of greater importance contributes to stir up Alsace-Lorraine emigration. The foreign emigration crosses Alsace Lorraine. In 1853, 16,000 to 17,000 foreigners , mainly Germans crossed Strasbourg to get to le Havre, in 1854, 20 000 were expected (Ministère de l'Intérieur Report).

II) Friends in the new country

1) Landing and settling in the same areas: along the Mississippi river and the border states for example

Between 1830-1850, The French and German Diasporas either from Le Havre or from Bremen, Hamburg, came to New York (about 66%), Cincinnati, Philadelphia, to the South,

New Orleans, Galverston to go to Louisiana, Texas and Alabama (about 20 %), (Bloch, 1999:82).

With this influx of Bavarian, Palatinate Baden and Alsace-Lorraine Jews, by 1850 Louisiana had about 8000 residents, the largest Jewish population in the South with approximately 4,000 to 5,000 Jews living in New Orleans and the rest was scattered throughout the state, in Donalsonville, Opelousas, Alexandria, Shreveport and settled further along the Mississippi river in small towns such as Port Gibson, Natchez, Vicksburg.

As in the early life of any typical Jewish community the synagogue structurally and functionally represented the nucleus of the great majority of the activities that defined Jewish life. Minority in the minority, the Alsace-Lorraine migrants had no other choice to socialize and to be connected to German Jewish migration. Even if they maintained rituals, custom and attachment to the native lands and families, both groups in order to remain coherent, had to secure a burial ground, organize a congregation and establish charitable societies and survive professionally.

2) Founding congregations together in New Orleans and all along the Mississippi river

As we have studied this part of the United States, looking through the congregation archives and minutes, list of cemeteries and interviewing quite a number of descendants of emigrants, we noticed that most of the Jewish Congregations in New Orleans, Vicksburg, Jackson and the small congregations along the Mississippi were founded by Alsace and Lorraine and German emigrants and the rites conformed to the customs of the German Israelites. The Jewish minutes were in German up to the 1880ies. If congregations were Sephardic as *Dispersed of Judah* synagogue in New Orleans, they broke away from the German-dominated Gates of Mercy congregation³.

In the proximity of New Orleans, German Jews joined other immigrants settled in Lafayette City. Lafayette City provided wharves exclusively for flatboats and steamboats. Meat processing, tobacco and livestock were exchanged, blue collar and petty trade was then possible. A Hebrew Benevolent Society was founded. Most of the founders of the society were members of the congregation *Gates of Prayer*. The congregation obeyed German ritual until Reform forces prevailed. A school was established. Children learned the Pentateuch, Hebrew and German. The community was composed of 20% Alsace-Lorraine members, 70 % German

³ Gates of Mercy started in 1827 with Sephardic ritual. I want to thank you , Cathy Kahn, archivist in The Touro Infrimary Archives to have reminded me that fact.

Jews from different Lander. Two Alsatians were elected as well Presidents, David Wolbrette in the 1880s and Leopold Levy in 1901.

All these features are signs of mutual understanding and acceptance of the two groups. The archives were written in German : “The early constituents were parts of the Minyan that led the founding of the congregation “Gates of Prayer” were without a doubt, German and Alsatian Israelites, the latter being patriot of the patriots, bearing allegiance to France, nevertheless more familiar with the language of the Rhine countries. Usages, customs and rituals were observed to the letter.

In Montgomery (Alabama), “Beth Or” congregation founded in 1859 showed similar characteristics: 10% of the families were Alsatians, the others were German. Most of them came from the Rhine Palatinate and North of Alsace (Montgomery Jewish Census data 1892 and minutes of the Congregation).

This emphasized the essential paradox that the Alsatian–Lorrainian remained patriotic to France, being truthful to the religious customs and rites while adapting to the new country.

If we select smaller towns, rural areas, such as Donaldsonville in Louisiana, the old cemetery established in 1856 contained 200 tombstones: 31 emigrants came from Alsace-Lorraine, 16 from Germany, 5 from Poland. In Northern Louisiana, Opelousas where there are still descendants of Alsatian and German emigrants, out of 165 tombstones, 19 emigrants came from Rhine Palatinate, 20 from Alsace-Lorraine (Kaplan, 1957). Along the Mississippi River, in the town of Port Gibson, 22 founding congregants came from both sides of the Rhine.

So we can observe that in main congregation, through the minutes of these congregations, Germans Jews and Alsace-Lorraine Jews lived together in daily life and were buried together. They founded benevolent societies, Widows and Orphan’s Homes, Women and Young men’s Hebrew associations, belonging to town social clubs.

After the 1880s, when the East European Jews arrived in great numbers, orthodox Jews had a tendency to separate from Westernized Jews to found their own congregation when it was possible. This was the case in Alexandria (Louisiana) which has its own orthodox cemetery, of New Orleans, Montgomery which have a separate congregation and cemetery⁴,

The German and French families I interviewed told me about this separation.

Alsace-French and Germans used not to socialize with Eater European Jews up to World War II . It did not mean that they did not have professional and charitable relationships and that they did not advise to buy lands or to invest money (Felix Dreyfus memories, 1995)

⁴ In New Orleans, Ahavas Sholem Burial Society and Cemetery. The first tombstones date back 1897.

3) Frequency of intermarriages

Intermarriage is also a way of determining to what extent a population blends. The analysis must be subtle. Demographic statistics do not replace oral narratives.

We do not have statistics regarding intermarriages but we have noticed that as far as French-German wedding are concerned, Alsatian men marry first one of their women from the same country or bring their wives over from the town the family already knew. In the first generation, the intermarriages were not so frequent. In the second or third generations, many descendants I met had a German ancestor and a very small number of families did not intermarry with Germans.

This was true of the Pozners from Opelousas who had a German mother, of the Weils-, a German family from Brisach that had connections with Sarrelouis, Lorraine. Even the very French public notary Albert Dreyfous arriving in 1832 in New Orleans married Caroline Kaufman born at Ingenheim Bavaria in 1848. Elias Bloom was from Billigheim (Rhenish Bavaria), and his wife was from Mommenheim (Alsace). Lazare Kahn born in 1858 (Mommenheim, Alsace) married in 1881 Hanna Blum Elias Blum's daughter, born in 1853. Salomon Marx came from Mainz, Germany. His daughter, Clara Marx married a Metz boy in 1890 in New Orleans.

About the blending of the two populations, Metz Kahn, Elias Bloom's, great grand son, makes this comment: "The German and French immigres in Louisiana were usually very close. In the late 1800's, there was a popular song in the States called "Hands across the Rhine". Near the Pontchartrain Lake Front in New Orleans there was a popular recreation area (near Bayou St. John) that I believe was a Park/ BeerGarten also called "Hands Across the Rhine." Many German Jewish families settled along the bayous side by side with the French. Waterways were the true highways and permitted trade and communication. Here in Louisiana we have both Bayou des Allemands and Lac des Allemands. Apparently with all the shifting of the borders of Alsace between France and Germany there was something of a tradition of "Hands Across the Rhine."

This blending was quite logical. The marriage market was very narrow as the Jews represented 0,1 to 0,2 of the population. If the families wanted to remain Jewish, there was no other option. Intermarriage with Christian families was quite rare because of the Southern prejudices of the times, but it happened especially at the beginning of the nineteenth century in New Orleans or later on in small parishes, where Catholic and Jewish families both spoke French and had the same origin.

4) Close but with distinctive identities

However, even in the face of intermarriage, it did not mean that each respective family was losing its own identity, its own ways of living and habits from its native lands. When the family was French, the children would often speak French, for one or two generations. The eating habits and cooking in middle classes and upper class families were French. This was true of the Dreyfous of the Denney, of the Geismar families whose descendants I met. I often thought I was still in a French house even if the interviewee was not speaking French any more.

On the other hand, Salomon Marx, of German origin, founder of the Reform temple, Temple Sinai in New Orleans with other members of masonic lodges, listed in the New Orleans social register, wrote in German and in English. He was member of a famous Deutsche Company which became Harmony club, a club of successful professional men, where he could meet the French Abel Dreyfous. He showed solidarity with German natives, helped them to start successful business. His habits, ways of living, writing remained German..

Even if, the distinctive features of the two groups remained within one or two generations and they were both happy to be distinct, it seemed that their hostility disappeared in the new land. The priority was to adapt to the new country, to become an American citizen, a successful business man, to be involved in charitable organizations or to become involved in civic life as mayor (Geismar, Klotz families) or state legislator (Felix Dreyfous). Being fully part of the new country was the priority.

But the situation was not the same everywhere. In New York where the Jewish population was far more numerous, the split was deeper. In San Francisco, there were French and German associations such as Deutsch Haus, and the French Associations of Benevolence. In New York City, the “Société Israélite Francaise” founded by Alsatian Jews dated from 1874. Associations followed the events in France or in Germany and would support their native country. The two populations did not blend so easily. The separation would recur strongly during war conflicts. The tensions between two populations would appear again .This happened during WW1 when the Jews parted among themselves according to their origins. Again nationalism was prominent

Conclusion

Even if German and French Jews did not have the same status when they left their native countries, even if their two countries were hostile, transplantation led to a process of homogenization of the two populations. Once in the United States, proximity in religious beliefs, closeness in civic and social life, intermarriages, solidarity were prior issues between German and French Jewish populations. Integration to the new land was required in order to

survive. Both considered their native lands with distance as their lands had not given them equal rights or economic opportunity or had discriminated against them for religious reasons. Many of them were eager to become American citizens, to identify their new countries in need of accommodation. Similarities in religion, in ways of life, in professions, in environment, overshadowed differences of the two Diasporas.

However languages, habits and attitudes, singularities were emphasized according to the circumstances, the issues, the places where the two populations lived.

The old feelings of hostility did not disappear completely. The main features of each population remained in the new country at least with the first generations. If patriotism were not conspicuous in the daily life, if the two populations lived close together, loyalty to the old countries was more obvious when the native lands were confronted with crisis, conflicts, or war.

As Joseph and Daniel Boyarin emphasized, there is not “any simple equation between the identities or interests of diasporas and homelands” (Boyarins : 1993, 2002 ,Godtschmidt : 2002). It is more “idiotic, disorganic formulation”. Nevertheless, the diasporic condition of populations emerges in critical circumstances.

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